4:Grajdanzev--35 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 162, 177

"The Japanese took over from the Chinese the word 'savages' for the aboriginal tribes. At the end of 1938 the total number of aborigines was 155,900. However, only 95,400 of them are classified as 'savages' and are under the special, indefatigable supervision of Japanese police, the remaining 60,500 being 'civilized', that is, they are 'sinified', and in their outlook, customs, and occupation do not differ from the Chinese. The whole group of aborigines is divided into many tribes, among which the most important are:

Tribe	Population (in thousands) 1938
Taiyal	37.1
Saiset	1.6
Bunun	17.6
Tsuwo	2.3
Ami	50.9
Yami	1.8
Paiwan	44.5
Others	.1
Total	155.9

Many of these tribes show an increase in numbers, although much smaller than that of the Chinese on the island, but some are dying out."

6: Kirchhoff--31 U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
101, 177 Pepo-hoan

The Pepo-huan are those Formosan Malays who accepted the fate of dependence on the Chinese intruders and gradually became Chinese in customs and outlook, without there being any mixture of blood. Yet they are distinguished physically as well as culturally from free natives living in the mountains.

6: Kirchhoff--31 [2] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 105, 177 Pepo-hoan

The Pepo-huan are big, bronze-colored men with shining eyes and bold looks who, like their women, of delicate build and a lighter skin color, have taken over much in clothing and dwellings from the Chinese, and who use the Chinese language, at least when dealing with the Chinese, although among themselves they usually talk their own Malayan dialect. Those of them living along the coast are fishermen; their women prepare salt from the sea water which they let run through sand and evaporate. The Pepo-huan of the interior are still fond of hunting, their hereditary occupation, but for the most part they are peasants. As though in imitation of the Dutch, the Chinese allow the peasants of each Pepo-huan village subject to them to choose a chief to settle quarrels among themselves, and appeal may be made from his decisions to the Chinese administration of the district. At his side the Chinese "interpreter" acts in the main as gatherer of the taxes imposed by the Imperial Government. The Pepo-huan are still distinguished by their bravery, dependability and hospitality, but they have been sadly reduced, economically, by the sly Chinese.

6: Kirchhoff--31 [3] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 426

The Chinaman misuses the unsuspecting nature of the brown "half savage," lends him money the latter needs in order to buy a wife, a cow or a shotgun, or to drink Samschu (rice brandy) or smoke opium. Thus he turns him into his debtor, who unsuspectingly pledges his house and possessions, until finally the Chinaman has him as his wretchedly poor tenant.

6: Kirchhoff--31 [6] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
117, 101, 177 Pepo-hoan

We hear tell of a Chinese farm on the island in the Dragon Lake, and of the apparently near-by plain of Polesia, surrounded by mountains, that is said to be inhabited entirely by Pepo-huan who not only speak Chinese, but who have completely forgotten their own tongue (Imbault-Huart, p. 286).

6: Kirchhoff--32 [4] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 286, 322, 412 Pepo-hoan

In respect to crafts also, the Chinese have stamped their individuality on the Pepo-huan. But the Pepo-huan continue to manufacture their wooden vessels in the traditional way, and the knife handles also, in which they insert the blades they buy from the Hakka. Their wives manufacture coarse materials from pineapple and nettle fibers.

7: Joest--57 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177, 721

The term Shekwan means half raw or half cooked. The Chinese apply this term to those aborigines who settled in the coastal regions or near the boundary. The Chinese trade with these people, among whom the custom of headhunting is practiced rarely or not at all.

The term Chinwan means raw. The Chinese apply this term to the aborigines who live in the forests and mountains of the interior.

7: Joest--59 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 411, 531 Chin-hoan

The weapons of the Chinwans consist of bows and arrows and of a spear 10' to 12' long; the latter is made of oak or ash wood and the spearhead consists of a small Chinese knife attached with a piece of string. Chinese rifles with matchlocks have now taken the place of these spears for the most part. These are six feet long and are made of an iron cylinder. The shaft is long, narrow, and crooked; they draw designs on it for ornament. The matchlock is inserted into the cock. Every warrior carried a second matchlock which is wrapped around the wrist of the left hand. They carry their powder in a horn which hangs from a string of beads around their neck, and the cartridge box is usually attached to their belt.

These rifles do not often hit their mark. From what I have seen I would say that the natives cannot hit the target if it is further than five or six feet away; every time they shoot, the rifles hit their cheek so that they bleed. They carry paper plugs in a special case. In their belt they wear a Chinese knife on which ornaments have been drawn.

7: Joest--59-60 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 301, 304 Chin-hoan

All the Chinwan natives, the men especially, love to wear [60] ornaments. For this they use chiefly the colored glass beads imported from Europe which they string up on chains to wear around their neck. They insert small bamboo sticks into the lobes of their ears and sometimes attach a tassel made of European wool, one of their favorite articles, to these ear pendants. Sometimes they wear small polished pieces of marble attached to chains in their ears, or pieces of shell and metal with a diameter of one inch or less; they enlarge the lobes of their ears for this purpose.

7: Joest--61 [2] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 273 Chin-hoan

In former times the Chinwan natives distilled a beverage from fermented rice or millet. Rice meal took the place of yeast, this had to be chewed by a woman who was past her menopause. Today the Chinese Samshu has taken the place of the native drink and both men and women drink it in large quantities.

10: Schumacher--225 [13] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 361 Chin-hoan

At first I was unable to judge from the type of settlements of the inhabitants of the mountains as to whether they were imitating the Chinese of the lowland plain, or whether their ancestors had known this type of settlement before they came to Formosa.

The great advantages which this form of settlement offers to the individual families are based on such thoughtful principles that they cannot have been discovered by people who were just turning to agriculture.

11: Haguenauer--28-29 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 174, 177, 563

The center of Formosa is occupied by a broad chain of mountains. At the beginning the populations who reside here may have lived in the plain, but successive waves of invaders have driven them back gradually to the high plateaus. Today the aborigines, who refuse to have any contact with civilization, are the only inhabitants of the mountains. The others, who have abandoned their ancestral customs and language to adopt those of Formosa, are completely submerged among the Chinese; they are called "jukuban", [29] meaning those who have ripened by contact with civilization, and this distinguishes them from the real savages, the seiban, who are raw or green.

11: Haguenauer--32 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177

The aborigines at Kappanzan[AN: Kakupanzan] have been under the influence of civilization for a long time....

15: U.S. Navy --23 [5] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 563

"About two-thirds of the aboriginal population is considered to be 'savage' and treated accordingly in administration. About one-third is considered to be assimilated to the Formosan-Chinese way of life. No figures on aboriginal life in Taiwan can be 100 percent accurate, for there still remain small remote mountain areas which have yet to be explored and brought under close policing."

15: U.S. Navy--23 [7] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 144, 177, 563, 162 Pepo-hoan

"Marriage between the Formosan-Chinese and the aboriginal population has been a common thing since the incursion of the Chinese, and the result is that a large number of Pepohoans or 'Plains barbarians' have become assimilated in manner of living to the peasant Chinese. For purposes of the census the Japanese administration counts these Pepohoans among the Formosan-Chinese."

15: U.S. Navy--31 [3] (no date) 1944 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 565, 511 Pepo-hoan

"The marginal people (Pepohoans) in the foothills have a lower standard of living than the Chinese and in their costume and daily habits combine some aspects of both Chinese life and the life of the mountain aborigines. They are usually thought of and treated in the same category with Formosan-Chinese of the lowest living standards."

16: Müller--229 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177, 609 Pepo-hoan

Among the groups listed... [MC: see previous paragraphs in 101 for the author's group division of the aborigines.] the Pepo no longer have the external characteristics of the aborigines; in their manner and customs they have become culturally assimilated by the Chinese to such an extent that today it is hardly possible to distinguish between the two. They live in the eastern and central districts of the island, and a large number of them also inhabit the western plains. They are on friendly terms with the Chinese, although on the whole the two groups do not actually intermingle. This explains the name given to them by the Chinese, Pepo-hoan, that is, natives of the plain. Only a small part of the Pepo, the Saisiett tribe, has retained their original characteristics to this day.

16: Müller--229 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
101,177 Saisett

Only a small part of the Pepo, the Saisiett tribe, has retained their original characteristics to this day.

16: Müller--229 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177

Another distinction made by the Chinese between groups of natives is that of Seiban and Jukuban; the first refers to those natives who remained independent, the second to those who had become subjugated. The latter includes, besides the Pepohoan, the Pyuma and Amis groups; although these have not been assimilated entirely by the Chinese, they nevertheless show a certain degree of civilization.

16: Müller--229[5] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 191, 197

Among the Pepo the Saisiett tribe is the only one which has retained the old language. The others speak Chinese, the Amoy and Hakka dialects, using only a few Malayan terms. Most of them have forgotten their original language almost entirely, although it was still spoken little more than a century ago. Only those Pepo tribes listed under Pazzehe and Kareowan speak both languages.

17: Norbeck--3 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 175, 177

"The Japanese classify the Formosan aborigines into two groups, representing neither ethnic nor tribal divisions: the Seiban ('wild' or 'raw' aborigines) and the Jukuban ('civilized' or 'ripe' aborigines). These terms are taken over from the earlier Chinese Sek-huan and Chin-huan. Both groups originally fell under the classification of 'wild aborigines,' but with acculturation through the centuries from China, Holland, and Japan a number of the tribes or members of tribes (the present Jukuban) largely abandoned their native cultures and languages, and, adopting principally Formosan Chinese culture, lived in amity with the Chinese, Hakkas, Japanese, and other nonnative residents of lowland and coastal Formosa. The Seiban, however, persistently resisted the advance of the more highly developed cultures and continued their life essentially unchanged in the security of the mountainous area of the interior. They remained fierce and unyielding, making frequent head-hunting forays, so that the Chinese, as a protective measure, were obliged to establish guard lines in various places. After Japanese occupation these guarded areas were elaborated, strengthened, and enlarged into one line encompassing most of interior Formosa. No real conciliatory progress was made by the Japanese until the late nineteen twenties. From Japanese material at hand it appears that the practice of head-hunting has almost, if not entirely, been abandoned, but that complete acculturation has not been achieved so that the Seiban remain at a primitive cultural level. Information on the post-war situation is lacking."

17: Norbeck--4 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 105, 177 Atayal

"The Atayal have long been known as one of the most fierce tribal groups and the most aggressive in head-hunting. They depend for subsistence upon hoe agriculture, principally of millet, dry-land rice and sweet potatoes, and to some extent upon the hunting of wild pigs and deer. Metal working is not practiced, but metal implements and guns are secured by barter. Atayal women are skilled in loom weaving, and proficiency in weaving is considered the highest feminine attainment. Religious practices, largely concerned with ancestor worship, are open to women as well as men, and women have been reported to serve occasionally as chiefs. Much importance is attached by the Atayal to their own history and genealogy, and traditions are transmitted orally by hereditary officials.

Considerable change in culture has come about from Chinese and particularly Japanese contact, and the Atayal have long possessed rifles. Both official and scholarly Japanese sources state that many Atayal customs have been abandoned or greatly changed in the last few decades, as is also indicated in some of the appended folk tales."

17: Norbeck--12 [2] (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 177, 773 Atayal

"Both the Philippine groups under consideration and the Atayal inhabit isolated mountain regions and, at least during the historic period, remained resistant to outside cultural influences, preserving until very recent times cultures thought to be much the same as those of generations of their forebears. Indian and Islamic influence seems not to have reached them, and western influence upon the mythology of these groups is hardly discernible. In discussing diffusion of mythological themes, Stith Thompson reports that one-seventh of one hundred traditional tales current in western Asia and Europe have been recorded from Indonesia. (57) The motifs which he lists under this

57. Stith Thompson, The Folktale (New York: The Dryden Press, 1946), p. 284.

heading are almost entirely absent from the folklore of the groups here considered."

18: Kakyo--67 [2] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 415

They are familiar with the use of iron and earthenware vessels (which they have received, however, from the Chinese).

18: Kakyo--68 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 241

The Formosan aborigines are familiar with agriculture....
In cultivating the fields they no longer use implements of stone or horn, but iron implements.

18: Kakyo--68 [2] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 411

They no longer shoot exclusively with bows and arrows, but already know the use of firearms.

18: Kakyo--73 E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161, 177

The Pepohan of Formosa are dying out. The Besha, who live in the plains of Polisia, in a district cut off by natural boundaries, numbered 120 fifty-one years ago, according to the account of a Chinese official. Gradually their community dissolved, and at the present time only 11 Besha are living, scattered among various tribes.

The Matoska savages living in the surroundings of Kagi, in whose district the Dutch formerly had set up a school, at the time of the Tei dynasty formed one of the largest native communities of Formosa. According to an original document of 1639 they numbered 3,000. But since they have lived together with the Chinese, their number has been sinking steadily. According to their traditions, they numbered between 800 and 1,000 one hundred years ago. Now only 200 of them are known.

20: Alvarez--255-256
116, 177, 361, 166, 241

(no date) 1927

Formosan Aborigines

"The Amis, Pyuma and several other branches have been influenced by owing [sic] and assimilated to their Chinese neighbours, [MC: owing] to the close and permanent contact with the invading race. They pursue some agriculture and have also a [256] little home industry, while others, especially the Atayal, seem to be averse to any kind of manual labor. The latter are hunting tribes. Of course, there are some of them engaged in agricultural work; yet, generally, they prefer to walk about the vast forests in search of game, honey and so forth. Authors of the past century asserted, incorrectly however, that the aboriginal inhabitants of Formosa had but temporary shelters, for they were always wandering abouth [sic] the woods. There were, undoubtedly, transmigrations since the arrival of the Chinese in 1683. It is for instance, almost sure that the ancestors of the Amis, Pyuma, Paiwan, Atayal and Tsalisen had been driven out from their primitive home by the Chinese. But nomads, in the strict sense of the word, we think have never existed in the island."

21: Asai--4 [2] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 756

"In almost all the tribes there are medicine men or women. Shamanism is also found in the Siroiya tribe. The Siroiya have become almost completely acculturated with the Chinese and speak Fukien Chinese. Their own culture has practically disappeared. Shamanism is not borrowed from the Chinese. Very detailed descriptions of Shamanism are found in early Dutch accounts."

21: Asai--4-5 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 241, 769, 796

"A special ceremony takes place just after the harvest. In such ceremonies, wine and foods are offered to the souls of the ancestors, who live in the land of the dead. The people chant [5] ceremonial songs to make the souls come to the village. The dances last sometimes 24 hours in one week successively in Saisiyat. This is called the period of pastaai. The people bring rice and cooking utensils. The festival usually takes place in November. Through Chinese influence, there are sometimes two festivals, spring and autumn."

22: Wiedfeldt--7 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 161, 177 Atayal

The largest and most vigorous of these [MC: Formosan Aborigine] tribes is that of the Atayals. This tribe is estimated as consisting of 30,000 persons occupying 7,700 square kilometers, and has deliberately remained aloof from foreign influence. They call themselves Atayals, which in their language means persons of the same kind, presumably in the anthropological sense.

22: Wiedfeldt--7-8 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177 Atayal

The Atayals are said to consist of 24 tribes. I became better acquainted with the two tribes living along the frontier: the western [8] Schimptonoff, or Bedonoff, and the eastern Taroku, or Toroku. The former are called by the Chinese Sensanban, or Kappansan, which means in German the fore mountain savages; the latter are called Bokkui. I have not been able to find out anything about the meaning of the other names. Both tribes have stubbornly resisted all cultural influences coming from the Chinese, the Japanese, and the other savages, and they have vigorously opposed the advance of the Japanese. After a violent struggle, the Schimptonoff have for four years been kept within the Aiyu line. This is the fate that lies ahead for the Toroku in the struggles now threatening.

22: Wiedfeldt--9[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 263, 177, 824, 431 Atayal

As a condiment, they like salt best of all. If this is lacking, they use as a substitute the small, salty berries of the mabu tree. The Taroku are said to have learned how to get salt from the sea from the Chinese by way of the Amis who border them to the south. Recently there have been isolated instances of their giving this necessary condiment as a gift and also as an article of barter to the tribes in the interior, after the Japanese prevented the importation of salt. Otherwise they use as a spice a kind of ginger which they get from the root of a species of banana, and to which they attribute a strengthening effect.

22: Wiedfeldt--9-10 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 372 Atayal

They now make a fire with flint and steel, which they get from the Chinese, but in isolated cases they are already using Japanese matches. It is said that in the interior they still make a fire by rubbing two sticks together, which was said to be the only method used by the border tribes also up to two decades ago. The legends and customs with which the peoples of colder countries invest the obtaining and keeping of the fire which is such a vital necessity in their lives are unknown to the Atayals. They are also unacquainted with conflagrations, for after preparing a meal, they put out the fire, inasmuch as they do not need it to heat their dwellings. Moreover, the fire would find little to feed on [10] in the luxuriant foliage surrounding it and in view of the high degree of humidity.

22: Wiedfeldt--10 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 177 Atayal

On special occasions they drink a fermented millet. The women salivate and masticate thoroughly a mouthful of millet, and place the result in a hollow stump of wood, where it ferments after a time. It stays there until it is mixed with water and drunk. Recently they have begun to make rice-whiskey in the same way. They also like slightly salty water, in which ginger has lain. Since they have been restricted to the Aiyu line, many Schimptonoff have become fond of sake and whiskey without soda, which they drink from the bottle. Immoderate drinking is said to have been unknown among them formerly. After all, it was difficult to keep large amounts of intoxicating drinks on hand in view of their laborious method of preparing them.

22: Wiedfeldt--10-11 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 241, 276 Atayal

Tobacco smoking is general among men, women, and children. As a pipe they use two sticks of bamboo, thrust one into the other. [11] According to their traditions, they received the "tamako" from the savages of the plain, who in turn got it from the whites. Although it is only recently that they have taken over the planting of tobacco from the Chinese, today there are a few tobacco plants by every hut. Everyone picks a leaf as he needs it, sticks it in his hair or lays it on the ground to dry, and then packs it in his pipe when it is still half green.

22: Wiedfeldt--11 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 291, 177 Atayal

Masculine clothing consists of a square cloth, without armholes. It is held over the shoulders by a string and hangs down in front as far as the knees. As a result of Japanese influence, a loin-cloth has also begun to be worn recently. The women add to this article of apparel a somewhat wider piece of cloth bound around the hips, and leg-coverings which extend from the knee to the ankle and are fastened top and bottom. Sewing is unheard of. All articles of clothing are yellowish grey in color, and often have reddish brown stripes. Their feet are bare, in spite of the stony mountain paths, just as their heads are unprotected from the heat of the sun. Occasionally the men wear caps with a peak, woven out of osier switches or the twining branches of the to tree.. These caps cover the nape of the neck. Apparently they are a poor imitation of European caps. Many of the young girls have recently taken to twisting around their heads strips of bright colored material which they get from the Chinese or the Japanese. A costume of this sort, which leaves the back of the body as well as the head and the feet uncovered, affords no protection against bad weather, but this is unnecessary in the climate of Formosa. Nor can this costume be attributed to a feeling of modesty, for the Japanese loin-cloth is said to be still unknown in the interior. Also, the leg-coverings of the women leave the upper part of the thigh exposed. This costume satisfies their need for adornment, and this is why the ornamented cloth hangs over the part of the body which is first seen, just as the leg-coverings adorn only the portions of the leg that are visible, and are a pleasing contrast to their dark skins.

22: Wiedfeldt--12 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 301, 177 Atayal

...[MC: An Atayal woman]could not understand why the whites do not like the sticks of bamboo 1 cm. thick and 6 cm. long which she wore in the lobes of her ears. She did admit, however, that the piercing of the ear with a sharp pointed piece of wood and the subsequent enlarging of the hole had been very painful. Apparently this is the reason why rings of brass or bronze, obtained from Japan, have recently begun to be preferred for the ears. Many women wear similar rings as bracelets and occasionally as anklets. I saw as many as 12 rings on one arm. Some young women proudly display glass beads from Osaka strung on strings around their necks, in place of the animal teeth or dried red berries such as the older women wear as necklaces.

22: Wiedfeldt--12 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 292, 436, 177 Atayal

If such foreign ornaments [MC: i. e. brass rings and glass beads from Japan] have been taken over by the women, the men have kept for themselves the characteristic old ornamental dress. These "things set with precious materials", as the Atayal description runs, have three sizes, which are worn as arm or leg coverings, kinrai, or as a doublet, bintoan, or as a sleeveless jacket, rokosch-kaha. They consist of material dyed red, on which is fastened small pieces of pierced fish-bone arranged in rows and geometrical designs. Since the fish are not to be found in the interior, and the making of these ornaments would be too tiresome and difficult for the Atayals, who have no tools, these ornaments, which the Chinese call schukun, are very highly prized, and their owners like to wear them on festive occasions because they give them a certain amount of prestige. These valuable and lasting, but unnecessary ornamental garments are used as money. The three sizes are worth respectively 3, 5, and 10 yen.

22: Wiedfeldt--14 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
413, 415, 177 Atayal

As tools [MC: in an Atayal hut] there is nothing more than a weaving frame, a spindle, and a pestle for pounding millet. Recently, a few clay vessels have been added, which have been acquired by barter from the Chinese.

22: Wiedfeldt--14-15 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 177, 224, 721 Atayal

Each Atayal makes his bows [15] out of the flexible wood of the Katsura. He makes his arrows out of bamboo reed. Nowadays most of them have metal tips, which he gets from the Chinese, but formerly they had nothing but wooden tips which had been hardened by fire. He still uses arrows with three wooden tips for shooting birds and as fire-bolts, the destructive effects of which on Japanese houses were demonstrated by the last Schimptonoff war. He also makes himself a spear two meters long, with a tip of wood, antelope horn, or recently of metal forged for this purpose by the Chinese in Amoy. Shields and helmets are unknown. Instead of them, one always carries a net which he has woven himself of ramie, for the purpose of carrying home the game which he has captured or the skulls he has taken.

Presumably within the last generation, they have acquired a knife, which is 40 cm. long, from the Chinese. Every Atayal carves and decorates the handle for this knife himself. His most important and most cherished weapon is the gun, which he has been getting for one or two decades from the Chinese and Japanese, and which he is continuing to get even now, despite the law which forbids the importation of guns. At least, I have seen at the sentinels' posts modern guns which were taken from Atayals by the Aiyu guards. Most of the guns, to be sure, are old breech-loaders, or even muzzle-loaders, which might conceivably be dangerous to the person shooting. There is said to be a scarcity of bullets. An Atayal living in the interior is said to have learned how to pour bullets from the Chinese, but can not satisfy the demand.

22: Wiedfeldt--16 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 177 Atayal

Formerly, the dekane [MC: hunting associations composed of several clans] were supposed to have hunted once a month, and thus to have observed a kind of closed season. Since the introduction of guns, they, like the savages, have cut loose, so that now they can only serve in the hunt once every quarter year. About a third of the hunters are armed with guns, and the others have bows and spears.

22: Wiedfeldt--17 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 311, 241, 177 Atayal

They do not select the fertile valleys, [MC: for purposes of cultivation] but the parcels of land which lie on the slopes and are easier to work. Even in the cases in which individual families have taken over from the Chinese the raising of rice, together with the proper tools, they pay no attention to the unfavorable results of experience and avoid the places that are best adapted and that have a good supply of water, for they lack the ability to stay at a piece of work, which is necessary in raising rice.

22: Wiedfeldt--17-18 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 177 Atayal

Some 30 to 40 are[MC: an are 0.02471 acre] are planted with millet, 20 are with mountain potatoes or sweet potatoes, and 10 are with bananas and beans. At harvest time, the woman picks the millet [18] and treads it out with her feet, or digs the potatoes with a stick. The activity of the Atayals in securing their food consists, thus, in burning off the stand of trees, sowing the seed, and garnering the fruit. Thus it is really only a process of facilitating the activity of nature. It seems questionable to me whether one may use Hahn's designation of hoe cultivation, since the tool which is characteristic of this type of cultivation, the hoe, is lacking. There are only isolated instances in which the Atayals have adopted the Chinese method of hoeing to a depth of 5 cm.

22: Wiedfeldt--18 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 231, 177, 262, 857 Atayal

If the Atayals may be said not to practice agriculture in the proper sense of the word, it may also be said that they do not do any cattle-farming. They have not domesticated any animal, nor do they need any, either for draught animals or for food. In the regions along the frontier, they have recently learned from the Chinese to raise the small black pigs, and they have also become acquainted with the Chinese method of keeping wild boars, according to which the family which raises boars gets a young pig from every litter. From the same source they have introduced the few chickens that they have, which are kept as a luxury... since they, like the Chinese, do not eat eggs. Even the dog, which one now finds in almost every hut, the Atayals are said to owe to the Chinese, and to get them from them by barter. The dog is not used for hunting nor for guarding the hut, but is a playmate of the children. It is apparently more attached to the woman, whom it helps to pass the time, than it is to the man.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 584, 161, 177 Atayal

In contrast to the Japanese and other Oriental peoples, marriage brokers are unknown among the Atayals. The young people become acquainted freely. The young man tries to win the favor of his girl by distinguishing himself in the skull hunt, as is shown by the Atayal love songs translated by Florenz. The Atayal belles are said to have become less exigent in this respect lately, and to be satisfied with the simple line of tattooing, as a result of the excess number of women after the homicidal fights with the Japanese. The lover does his own courting, or sends his father to the girl's father to set the price of the bride.

22: Wiedfeldt--21 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 584, 241, 585, 177 Atayal

If the son of a family wishes to marry, the family plants a larger piece of land with millet. At the time of the millet harvest, when there are enough provisions on hand for a year, the marriage takes place without any religious celebration. The head of the clan in which the couple will live in the future, and the members of the clan are invited to it. First they accompany the parents of the bridegroom to the bride's hut, where her parents serve them millet wine. Then all of them go to the new hut for the wedding feast, to which each guest contributes millet or millet wine... Recently they have begun to follow the Chinese custom of slaughtering a pig or killing a hen for the marriage feast. After a few hours, generally after a round dance has been danced and sung, the guests leave the hut wishing the couple many children.

22: Wiedfeldt--33 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 182 Atayal

In this modest study of the life and activity of the Atayals it has often been apparent that their needs and their means of satisfying them dovetail neatly... with their institutions and their customs. The Atayals have a narrow, but well integrated culture, and despite centuries of contact with the pervasive influence of a superior Chinese culture, they have up to now taken over from it only a few non-essentials. In all the essentials, however, unlike the other peoples of Formosa, they have remained aloof from its influence. That these peculiarly stratified cultural conditions, with which the Atayals still are perfectly satisfied today, existed before they had any contact with the Chinese, and the reasons why they have remained stationary so long can only be explained if we can bore a special hole in this petrified culture on another occasion. For our purposes it is sufficient to assume that Atayal culture is not an isolated pocket, but a stratum of considerable extent.

22: Wiedfeldt--35 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 463, 177, 231 Atayal

If the keeping of boars has recently produced a kind of side-line for individual Atayal families, this is a case of a recent innovation borrowed from Chinese economy.

For all settlements and compensations, for the purchase of land by the clans, and the reimbursement of the prophetess, the Atayals have a definite means of exchange which has the same value for all of the Atayal tribes: the materials [MC: which are set] with precious things, which are usually of three kinds. [MC: See page 12 in category 116 or 436 for description] The general acceptance of this indigenous money is based on its high value as a means of adornment, and its worth depends on the rareness of the materials and the care with which it has been made. [37] Ostensibly the Atayals have never wished to learn how to make these things. An old Taroku told me through the medium of the interpreter that they had gotten the precious materials long ago from white men, but the other Tarokus and all the Schimptonoffs denied the truth of this improbable tradition. If it were true, one would be forced to think of Spanish amulets. All the Atayals are agreed on this point, that they were once brought to them from outside, and that for a long time, there has been no new material. According to this, the same quantity of objects used as money, which presumably are fairly safe from the ravages of termites, has been in circulation among them since its introduction, and only the temporary owners change. This is very possible, in view of the fact that there is no economy based on earnings, and in view of the fact that there has been no increase in the population of the Atayals, as well as because of the stagnation of their culture. The objects used as money are the only possessions that do not follow their owner to the grave. Neither tribe nor clan has concerned itself with making of ornaments to be used as

money, nor have they attempted to fix the value of such ornaments, but nevertheless, they are the "legal" means by which all fines are paid. Together with language and customs, money is the only tangible bond that unifies all the tribes of the Atayals. The entire fortune of the Atayals consists of such money.

22: Wiedfeldt--47-48 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 177, 182, 619, 648, 721 Atayal

Every tribe is independent of the other tribes, or is even hostile to them. This attitude was adequate, as long as they did not have any dealings with opponents who were superior to them in strength, as is now the case with the Japanese, and it has naturally given the individual tribe and the chief of the tribe a greater measure of freedom and independence than if a portion of his rights and duties had been transferred to a superior institution. To create social organizations without subjection and on a footing of equal rights seems uncommonly difficult in political life as well as in cooperative labor; even for [48]primitive individuals it seems almost impossible, especially if one considers how much scientific effort and practical work has now been directed at this goal. Even under the pressure of the need to defend themselves against Japanese penetration, the Atayal tribes have not been able to unite. Only individual tribes have been able to unite for minor undertakings, and that not particularly satisfactorily. Nevertheless, some of the chiefs have not spared any effort to bring this about. In the tribes in the interior, the union of the clans in the tribe is so slight, that it is not sufficient to enable them to wage war as a joint effort. In their case, it might even be doubtful whether the social bond between the families by means of their clans in the tribe is so strong that they feel themselves to be members of the same tribe, or whether the tribe is only a union of the clan heads. The tribal feasts which are celebrated in common, the uniform and simple legal procedure of tribal decisions, and the fact that they actually seldom take the liberty to absent themselves from tribal wars, make the first assumption seem more probable,

especially since there is no doubt that this is the situation which prevails among the border tribes.

22: Wiedfeldt--49 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 562, 589, 593 Atayal

Since children are not counted, the Atayal family consists of two members, whose activities complement each other and are equally necessary to their existence. Hence the two have, so to speak, equal rights. In spite of this favorable position of the woman, it is the man who is the head of the family. He decides where they are to live; he pays any fines, or the price of a bride for his son; he alone has the right to participate in the activities of the higher social institutions, and he alone is obligated to do so. The deduction drawn by many advocates of women's rights, that equal economic services lead to equal political rights, meets an exception in the forests of Formosa. There is no such thing as an Atayal living alone, for even widowhood is only a transitory state, or was only a transitory state, until the recent wars brought about a shortage of men. Previously, all the Atayals were members of a family, without exception.

24: Anonymous--92 [5] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 212, 622, 695

The chiefs of one tribe are divided into the head chief and assistant chiefs. There are five or six of these in a community, depending upon the number of families. Trials in one tribe are held in the community house; minor feud are settled elsewhere. Among the clerks of court, there are some who know the Dutch writing; these are called chiao-ts'ê (registrars), and they count all those who go in or out. They dip a goose feather quill into the ink and they write across the page from left to right, instead of up and down. It is said that in recent times, the aborigines have adopted Chinese customs, and that private teachers are trying to teach the children Chinese literature, customs, and music.

25: Plaut-- 62 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 583, 836 Pepo-hoan

In recent times the Peipo seem to have adopted the custom of marriage for the groom has to give the parents-in-law a certain price for their daughter; this may be an imitation of the Chinese custom. One branch of the Peipo, the Tatso, have the custom of giving their daughters a hut of their own when they are of marriageable age; the girls may receive their lovers here.

31: Hofmann--618-619 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177, 291, 721 Tsou

During our expedition through the forests we occasionally saw some of the natives who had come here to hunt or merely from curiosity. [619] They are a shy people, short, with beautiful bright eyes; they are clothed in deerskins, leaving their arms and legs bare. These are members of the Tsou tribe. The word tsou is equivalent to human being, but they do not apply this term to any other people, neither the Malayans nor the Chinese and Japanese. They are, comparatively speaking, quite civilized; I was told that they had given up headhunting several centuries ago, but this is probably due to the influence of a foreign culture more than moral conviction. There has been no perceptible progress in their culture. Since they are numerically inferior to the other tribes and since they are constantly at war with the neighboring tribe, the Hosha, they are probably forced to accept the rule of the Japanese.

31: Hofmann--606 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177

At the beginning of the seventeenth century Holland ruled the entire island, and the original inhabitants, the Malayans, inhabited all the island regions even down to the coast. The red barbarians from the west, as the Dutch and all other Europeans were and still are called by the Chinese, established excellent relations with the Malayan tribes, so that many of them were converted to Christianity and western civilization spread rapidly among them. This ought certainly to prove the adaptability of the aborigines to a new culture if they are treated well by the new regime. At the same time it is evident that the administration can win the confidence of the natives only if they intrude no further into their territory.

34: Del Re--29 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan--Aborigines
177, 797

"10: cpr. account of marriage customs etc. among Western tribes in VF, Pt. I, p. 8-10. This is of special interest as referring to a period in their social evolution anterior to their partial conversion to Christianity by Dutch missionaries in the South and Spanish Catholic fathers in the North, which temporarily affected their gradual sinicization. Among the former was the famous Georgius Candidius, who arrived in Formosa in 1627."

35: Collingwood--138 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177 Sek-hoan

"These people [MLB: occupants of a village on the southern side of Sano Bay] are called by themselves Kibalan, and are, I believe, known by the Chinese as the tame aborigines, in contradistinction to the raw savages which dwell on the mountains, and on the east coast more particularly. These latter are at deadly enmity with the Chinese; while the Kibalan live in close proximity, though isolated from them. An officious half-caste among them informed us that there was another village close by; so, guided by him, we proceeded about a furlong along the beach, but were rather disgusted to find it a Chinese village, differing in no respect from other dirty Chinese villages."

35: Collingwood--140-141 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 344 Sek-hoan

"It [MLB: A Kibalan building apparently intended for defense against raids by mountain savages.] was in a very unfinished state, having at present no roof, and the walls not all completed; but the loopholes in the walls of the finished sides, as well as the accounts of the natives themselves, showed for what purpose it was intended. Men were engaged in sawing wood, and doing other business of construction.

By the side of this unfinished building was piled a great [141] heap of tiles of a dark colour, and of a most rubbishy brittle character, which they had purchased of the Chinese for roofing their fort. It seemed the greater pity, inasmuch as the rocks of Sano Bay are of a slaty character, with very distinct cleavage; and, close by the village, slates might have been obtained by a little trouble and intelligence, and these would have answered the purpose better than the wretched tiles they were about to use. A herd of water-buffalos, brought home late in the afternoon, repaired to a muddy pool in front of this building, and, with their characteristic timidity and stupidity, after eyeing us curiously for some time, they took alarm at some movement of one of our party, and bolting helter-skelter out of the mud, floundered over the heap of tiles, crushing numbers of them to pieces, and all but overset some of the native huts in their mad career. Besides buffalos, they have pigs (always black), Chinese dogs, Japanese cats with short twisted tails, and fowls."

37: Steere--302-303 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 162, 101, 177 Chin-hoan

"The second great division of the aborigines of Formosa is of those who are still wild and savage, and who inhabit the steep and rocky mountains running through the east part of the island. They occupy about half of the island, but their territory, where it has been visited, is steep and rocky. They are probably but little changed by [303] their intercourse with the Chinese, and there may be tribes who have not yet heard of the Chinese. The gradual advance of the Chinese in their search after timber and cultivable lands has no doubt caused wars among the different tribes, by crowding the more exposed tribes back upon those behind. They are divided up into many small tribes and nations, but their languages, as well as the general customs of tattooing and of cutting off and preserving the heads of their enemies, point to their descent from a common stock. They live much by hunting, but cultivate their steep hill-sides in millet, sweet potatoes, tobacco, etc. They are known by the general name of Che-whan--raw or unripe barbarians. Of those visited, I have called those living east of the Lek-whan settlement of Polisia, by the common name Che-whan, while the others are designated by their tribal names of Tsui-whan and Kale-whan."

37: Steere-303-304 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 162, 171, 177, 197, 212 Pepo-hoan

"The Pepo-whans of the south part of the island occupy a large tract of country to the east of Takow and Taiwanfu. They inhabit the villages of Kongana, Kamana, Alukang, Backsa, Lakuli, Baukimseng, etc., and they may number five thousand people, while there is a large colony formed from them on the east coast of the island. They no longer speak their aboriginal language, using Chinese instead, and the Fuh-kien dialect of this, though they are in contact with the Hak-kas on the south and south-east. I procured the two lists of words, [MLB: see category 194, pp. 332-333.] Nos. 4 and 5, from very old women, No. 4 at Kongana and No. 5 at Baukimseng. They both said that their language was very little spoken, even in the time of their parents, Chinese having already become general. The two lists are not identical, and seem to show that there has been a coalescing of tribes, the supposition being strengthened by differences in dress, etc., still apparent among them. I found in existence among them a number of old manuscripts in Roman letter, most of them apparently business papers, such as deeds and contracts. The Pepo-whans still preserve these among their valuables, though no one can read them. Some of them have Chinese pawnshop marks upon them. They seem to be indubitable proofs and remains of the Dutch occupation, when many teachers and missionaries were employed among the aborigines, and many thousands of them are said to have become Christians. When the Dutch were driven out, and the teachers and missionaries murdered by the Chinese, the whole work was supposed to have gone out in darkness, but these manuscripts seem to show that for

nearly a hundred and fifty years afterward, these poor people, oppressed and driven back to the hills by the Chinese, still kept enough of the knowledge taught them to read and write their [304] own language, and almost necessarily books and a knowledge of the Christian religion also. The manuscripts are in the ancient Pepo-whan language, spelled out in Roman letters, the dates generally being in Chinese, spelled out in the same way. Of the manuscripts procured, a few of them are of the reign of Young Ching, who reigned from 1723 to 1736; the most of them are of the reign of Keen Lung, who reigned from 1736 to 1796; and there is one of the reign of Kaking, who began to reign in 1796. Curiously, the oldest of the documents are dated eighty years after the Dutch were driven out. There may yet be found books and manuscripts giving some account of the struggles of this people with the Chinese."

37: Steere--306 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 797, 212 Sek-hoan

"The Lek-whan first learned something of Christianity a little over two years ago, when one of the tribe, an old hunter, strayed down to Taiwanfu, and into the missionary hospital there, where he was cured of an ulcer, and took back with him some idea of the Christian religion. This rapidly spread among the Lek-whans, and there are now four or five hundred church members among them, with many more who have thrown away their Chinese idols and their own idolatry, and have become regular attendants upon the Christian services. There are five or six chapels established among them, and the same number of schools, where the Romanized coloquial is taught them, and I saw many girls and boys who had learned to read and write it. This Romanized colloquial is Chinese of the Fuh Kien dialect, spelled out in Roman letters, with certain marks to show the Chinese accents. There is a lack of school-books, there being nothing but the new testament and a hymn book yet translated into this dialect,"

37: Steere--314-315 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines 1-2
116, 157, 177, 721

"The numbers of the savages of Formosa are hard to estimate. They are certainly more numerous than would be expected from the rough and mountainous character of the country they inhabit. They are weak and cowardly and badly armed, and their only safety is in [315] their woods and rocks, through and over which they make their way with almost the facility of wild beasts. Those who inhabit the sea coasts to the west are in the habit of plundering wrecked vessels and adding the heads of those of the crew who escape drowning to their treasures. They are said to be a fierce race and better armed than those of the mountains. The Chinese are slowly encroaching upon them where the soil and timber is worth possessing, but it will take centuries at the present rate for them to gain entire possession of the island, and it is probable that they never will conquer the whole island but will leave the most mountainous parts of the island in the hands of the savages, just as they have done in the interior of China itself, where there are many tribes of savages who do not recognize Chinese authority. There is probably no day of the year that passes without bloodshed along the savage border in Formosa. The savages are continually coming out and lying in wait for the Chinese, and the Chinese are in no way particular how they get the savages in their power and revenge themselves, but the Chinese government seems to have no concern in it. Those who live along the border understand that they do it at their peril, and that their death will not be noticed. The only means for defense or warning that we saw upon the border were undertaken by private individuals, and we saw one man,

37: Steere---314-315 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 157, 177, 721

whose lands and property were exposed, who was offering ten dollars per head for savages."

39: Wiedfeldt--11-12 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 436, 555, 622, 802 Atayal

The Atayals have a better idea of counting than they have of measuring time. Most of them, to be sure, can only count up to three or five, and that is sufficient for their purposes. Anyone who can count up to thirty is considered clever, and only a few individuals in the border tribes can count up to a hundred. Some of the Japanese maintain that a smart Atayal of the interior can count up to a thousand, but most people say that this is just talk. Most of the tribes are said to have names for numbers up to five only, and to count further by saying five and one, five and two, five and three, five and four. They have a special word for ten, and also for twenty and thirty. Some tribes are said to know more words for numbers, but they seem to have acquired them recently through Chinese or Japanese interpreters. Most of the clan heads can count this way up to twenty or thirty. If they need to go beyond that, they call in a wise man to help them, if fines are to be paid. They also have to count when they are fixing the price of the bride or the price for adopted children. They count 25 rokosch-kaha, or 250 yen, by putting down 20 rokosch-kaha, or garments with precious [12] materials, and 10 bintoan, breastpieces with precious materials. Presumably the calculation is made at once in this way, and the reduction to a common denominator is made by the interpreter. In tribes that have lived for years inside the Aitu line, and that accept Japanese money, families will sell a rokosch-kaha together with their profit on it for 13 or 15 yen, because they can conceive only of 13 as 1 rokosch-kaha plus 1 binrai, or 15 as 1 rokosch-kaha plus 1 bintoan, but they can not imagine 11, 12, or 14 yen.

40: Kirk--10-11 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177

" The aborigines of the plains may have become more or less accommodated to a civilized order, although it is too much to claim that they are already assimilated; it is also certainly true to say that the mountain savages, the Atayal, the Bunun, and the Paiwan, are still in a fighting mood. The Japanese lay the blame for this hostility upon the [11] Chinese, who started the trouble centuries ago when they first drove the primitives from their ancestral lands. According to the Japanese version,

> When these unscrupulous and utterly heartless creatures wished to obtain possession of the land belonging to the savages, they would give them a present promising to repeat the same each year. But once the savages had listened to their request and allowed them to use the land, the wily celestials collected other equally wily and unscrupulous men around them, and as soon as they felt themselves strong enough, repudiated all their promises and falling upon the too trustful savages, drove them off by force."

40: Kirk--11 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 609, 721

"It is only natural, say the Japanese, that the savages have developed an intense hatred for all foreigners and look upon Japanese, as well as Chinese, as deadly foes. So many Japanese, in the decade following 1895, lost their lives in a vain effort to subjugate the savages that some officials looked upon the campaign as hopeless and were in favor of giving the savages up as untamable wild men. Others held to the opinion that the aborigines would become civilized if they could be exposed to Japanese culture."

40: Kirk--17 [2] S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 157

"The government, likewise, hopes to make the aborigines more productive economically. Their temperament, like that of the North American Indians and so many other primitives, does not fit them to be factory workers, dock laborers, or members of construction gangs. They might be pressed into service as road or brush workers in the mountain passes."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

INVESTIGATION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHALA'ABUS PAIWAN, PINGTUNG HSIEN

WEI HWEI-LIN
Translated by CHEN CHI-LU

This is a preliminary report of the field-works among the Chala'abus Paiwan of Pingtung Hsien. Members who participated were Messrs. Ho Ting-jui, Tang Mei-chun, Huang Hsün-ch'eng and the present writer.

Chala'abus village was chosen because: it is one of the important and old tribes of the Central Paiwan, and, is the center of the Chimo racial group of the Paiwan. We have noted after the field-session that the village had other significances: (1) The village consisted of twelve aristocratic households whether of the Chimo or of the Paiwan groups. The village organization was thus rather complicated in structure. (2) The dwelling houses and their arrangement had been well preserved in their original form. (3) Old traits in material culture, such as stone-engraving, wood-carving, designed weaving, and embroidery, had been also well kept. (4) The ethnic character is rather conservative. They have been comparatively less influenced by the Japanese and the Chinese as compared to the other groups of the tribe.

Because of the limitation of time and investigators, we emphasized tribal organization and chieftanship of the village. Our field-work was undertaken from Feb. 1 to 15. Because of the complexity of the culture, the investigation is by no means a complete one.

SETTLEMENT TYPE AND DUAL ORGANIZATION

Chala'abus village is situated on the south-eastern slope of Mt. Nan-ta-wu and stands on the northern bank of the Lai-i River or the Upper Lin-pien River. The population of Chala'abus village was 158 households and 948 persons at the time of our investigation. With the Exception of 12 households who had moved to Chinasan which lies between the village site and the plain below it and formed a separate hamlet by themselves, all the other 146 households were concentrated on the two adjacent fan-shaped slopes which in the present report are referred to as the village site. The village of Chala'abus hence consisted of two parts: the south and the north-parts. Each of them occupied a fan-shaped slope. The south-part was called Chinimoan or "the living land of the Chimo", and the north-part Pinaiwanan or "the living land of the Paiwan". The village site was on a slope of 30 degree to 45 degree inclination, with the width north to south 80 M., and length east to west 100 M. Dwelling houses, including floors and roofs, were built of slate. All these houses had small front yards paved with slate. A continuous row of houses of the same level had their yards adjacent on the same level; but communication between two rows of houses was by means of narrow stair-ways, because the front yards of houses in the rear row were always on a level with the roofs of the front houses. The village is thus in a terrace form. Chinimo consisted of eight terraces, and Pinaiwanan ten. Each terrace had a row

177,10 -----177.88

15: U. S. Navy--31 [4]
116, 511, 342, 361, 177.16
636.16

(no date) 1944

Formosan Aborigines
Japanese

"The aborigines along the southeast coast (the Paiwan and Ami tribes) live in fairly well constructed wooden or stone houses, set among meager patches and fields. They live on a primitive agricultural level, supplementing their livelihood by occasional hunting and fishing. The aborigines living farther back in the mountains or along the northeastern coast live in extreme poverty, hunting and fishing and scratching the earth in small patches near their hovels, which may be thatched huts having a single opening, or bamboo and cane cabins perched on stilts. Gradually the Japanese are forcing them to leave their solitary clearings and to gather in villages on level areas where they can learn to subsist on an agricultural economy of the poorest sort."

34: Del Re--15-16 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 161, 181, 625; 177.16 Yami

"On the whole they appear to have preserved almost intact their traditional social organization and religious beliefs which the Japanese not only did not attempt to modify, except in certain minor points, but took care that the natives should not be contaminated by outside contacts. These were infrequent, partly by reason of the island's inaccessibility, and partly because the authorities following a policy of segregation and in order to avoid exploitation, did not encourage casual visitors, whether Japanese or foreign. The same was true, to a lesser degree, in the case of the 'wild' savages of the interior. One of the results of this policy was an increase in the savage population. The relations between the latter and the specially chosen police force were on the whole very harmonious. Some of these policemen indeed, elected to make their permanent home among the savages [16] rather than be transferred elsewhere. The unfortunate Musha insurrection (1930) which cost the lives of a considerable number of Japanese women and children as well as policemen, and was ruthlessly suppressed, was due to the conduct of individual policemen and not the result of government policy."

4:Grajdanzev--37 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 721, 177.17 Japan
636.17

"But arms were necessary for the aborigines, not only to fight the Japanese, but also to hunt for food. The Japanese authorities may have been sincere in their desire 'to civilize' the savages, but civilization as they understood it meant the turning of hunters into cultivators of rice fields. From the warrior and hunter they were taking away his lands and his gun and were granting him a hen for egg production. Savage 'superstitions' were 'eradicated', but the savages were expected to believe in the Japanese goddess, Amaterasu Omikami, with her million deities and the Son of Heaven. The natural consequence of this 'civilizing' was war. This war with the savages cost 7,083 lives and more than 4,100 wounded. For the time being their resistance may be considered to have been overcome, but this has been due to overwhelming force, and not to the beneficent influence of rice fields and shinto shrines."

19: Guérin and Bernard--564-565 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175, 177.17 China
636.17

If the Dutch had succeeded in establishing their dominion, it would have been an excellent thing for the Formosan tribes. Under the rule of these prudent and clever masters, the tribes would have been taught a relative kind of civilization; in any case, [565] they would have learned how to live and to prolong their race. But the Chinese invasion took all their possessions without teaching them anything in return, it has been pitiless from necessity for the island was small, and the invaders were both numerous and hungry. During Koxinka's time there was a general retreat of the poor tribes, and then since then events have proceeded at the slow tempo which still characterizes them today. The new-comers see that the valleys and the plain are occupied, and so they move toward the mountains and infringe upon the territory belonging to the tribes; they want to get land which may be transformed into rice fields, to seize a water-course that is essential for irrigation, to cultivate indigo, tobacco, and especially sweet potatoes on the slopes, and then they are anxious to exploit the forests, especially those containing camphor trees.

In the north the advance has been very slow; it may be that the aborigines have defended their land foot by foot, or it is possible that the Chinese have found a permanent source of wealth in the lands that they have annexed, and so they have not been spurred on to new conquests. In the south, on the other hand, there were some enormous

19: Guérin and Bernard--564-565 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines-2
116, 175, 177.17 China
636.17

deforestation projects at the start. This resulted in some vast empty regions which extend from the last Chinese farms to the frontiers of the aborigines. The tribes may have vegetated more safely on this account, but they have suffered from the difficulty of bartering their products, and this is caused by the absence of roads and the difficulty in navigating the rivers. This deforestation would have been more difficult if several tribes had not joined the conqueror, so there was no resistance whatsoever.

19: Guérin and Bernard--565-566 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177.17 China
636.17

The Chinese pioneer tries to obtain what he wants by buying it, and his favorite tactics are persuasion; but if he encounters an obstinate refusal, he will try other means, at his own risk of course. Thus wood choppers scatter [566] through the forests singly, or in small groups, and they are an easy prey to marauders. Sometimes the villages or wealthy proprietors do business with a part of the tribe, which comes to the neighborhood to protect the workers. These good services are rewarded by a subsidy (rice, wine, poultry, young pigs etc.) Finally, if the savages refuse to make any concessions, the Chinese proceed in a large group, and half of them keep armed guard over the safety of the workmen. In this way there is no danger, and if the Chinese adopted this procedure all the time, the tribes would be condemned to retreat a little more each day; but the Chinese only do this on rare occasions, and they do not like to use this method.

40: Kirk--16 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 182, 177.18

"With the introduction of agricultural pursuits and Japanese clothing, the primitives are going through a social revolution. In the mountain homes the women have done the weaving for centuries, and the native garments were all homespun. Now the Japanese are taking raw materials from the villagers, and the women who have been transplanted to the lowlands must learn new ways of doing things 'down on the farm.' "

40: Kirk-- 14 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 181, 224, 177.22 Japanese

"As the Japanese have carried away all firearms found in native villages, the savages have complained that this policy of confiscation has worked an unnecessary hardship on many nonhostile groups. Without guns, the aborigines are seriously handicapped in one of the absorbing interests of their lives--bird shooting and bear hunting.

The officials have replied that hunting, after all, is 'contrary to the principles of humanity' and that the primitive should turn their attention away from warlike pursuits to tilling the soil and raising corn and potatoes. The Japanese are hoping that this plan will force the savages to adopt 'gentler ways of living.' As late as 1934, headlines in the newspapers, such as 'Rebellious Savages Found-- Leader Anatex Killed by Machine Gun Fire,' would seem to indicate that the mountain tribes are by no means entirely subjugated."

21: Asai--7 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 231, 241, 243, 177.24 Japan
636.24

"Agriculture. Grow chiefly sweet potatoes, millet, peanuts. The fields are on the slopes of hills. They keep pigs—used originally for sacrifice. They grew dry field rice, but the Japanese started them growing wet rice. This was bad for their health as malaria would start up."

40: Kirk--11-12 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 311, 177.31 Japanese

"But the Japanese, above all, are looking for new food supplies. Overpopulated Nippon is anxious to bring the [12] savage-controlled lands of Formosa speedily under cultivation and the Nipponese cannot afford to stand by and wait patiently over the years for the policy of kindness and good will to work its slow way to the hearts and minds of the primitive peoples. It is far better, the rulers think, to gain complete control over the forbidden territory now by force of arms if necessary, and speed up the processes of accommodation and assimilation."

40: Kirk--15 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 166, 311, 361, 657, 177.36 Japanese

"The government of Formosa, as a part of ko-min-ka, has adopted a policy of removing the aborigines from their remote mountain homes to small parcels of land on the plains where they can be more easily watched and where they may acquire some skill as tillers of the soil. The agricultural possibilities of the lowlands include rice fields, livestock, sericulture, and sugar cane. Not infrequently, when the authorities have tried to pull a village up by the roots and transplant it at the foot of the mountain, the natives have openly rebelled against their rulers. But the soldiers quickly subdue the ringleaders and continue their policy of 'removals' according to schedule. The government errects huts on the plains, rent free, for the mountain families and prepares rice fields and vegetable plots, which are also free from tax. Free medical care is provided."

40: Kirk --13 [2] S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 437, 486, 712, 177.43 Japanese

"According to Japanese reports, these outposts of the Empire are no longer sorely needed. (2) The wire fence is not electrified, and the guard line is no longer heavily

2. Yosaburo Takekoshi, Japanese Rule in Formosa (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1907).

patrolled. Certain Japanese traders who obtain special permits may go beyond the guard lines and barter with the natives, but they must not bring into the mountains either arms or ammunition. Consequently, the only way the primitive can get modern weapons is by smuggling them into the hills."

40: Kirk-- 17-18 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 182, 511, 177.51 Ami

"The Ami to a greater extent than any other tribe have become assimilated or 'Japanized,' and it may be more than a coincidence that this East Coast group seems to have the best physique and enjoy the best health and cultural conditions.

The Ami have schools for their children, a young men's association for their youth, and credit organizations in several villages. Some of the more prosperous natives are in possession of more than ten ko, i. e. hectares, of cultivated fields, while others have annual incomes of one thousand yen or more in currency. Some villagers also [18] have postal savings. 'The Ami are now enjoying their life as subjects of the Japanese Empire,'

> With regard to the natives living on the West Coast plains it can be said that they have practically adopted the tenents of ordinary civilization. The aborigines in the mountainous districts still remain impervious to the light of civilization, and their districts, thus debarred from the beneficence of civilization, are still under special administrative control. In general, the aborigines are not put under legal control, and are accordingly living their own lives in consonance with their own traditional customs. At present, however, most of the aborigines have come to obey the order of supervisory police officials, and have in other ways become law-abiding people ready to

submit to administrative authority. (5)

5. Kokusai Nippon Kyokai, op. cit., pp. 7, 9-10.

4:Grajdanzev--35-36 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116. 563. 657. 727. 177.56 Japan
636.56

"After their occupation of the island the Japanese took over the Chinese 'reservation' system for the aborigines and the territory inhabited by the 'uncivilized' tribes was surrounded by military outposts, (1) which kept constant watch over the [36] natives.

> 1. The fact that these outposts were manned by Japanese policemen and not by soldiers makes little difference, because at their stage of cultural development the aborigines could hardly appreciate the difference.

The latter understood only that the Chinese system would continue a system of incessant warfare in which finally they were the losers and their best lands were taken away."

4:Grajdanzev--36 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 166, 563, 657, 728, 177.56 Japan
636.56

"It is difficult to say whether they understood, at the beginning, even the change of the sovereignty. In any case the war continued. During the first years of occupation the Japanese, preoccupied with the suppression of Chinese rebellions, tried only to keep them within the reservation, but later a complete program of subjugation was worked out. Its essential feature was the removal of aborigines to low lands in order that the mountainous areas which they had occupied might be exploited. These areas were rich (or at least were thought to be) in timber, minerals and agricultural potentialities, for a certain part of the area could be sown with tropical plants."

"When the Japanese, for administrative reasons, tried to induce the members of each village community to elect their own headsman, they met with such opposition that they were obliged to select and appoint one themselves. In practice, however, this Japanese appointee is not recognized by the natives as being anything more than a useful link between themselves and the authorities. (5) Furthermore, unlike what is the

5. cpr. VF, (Pt. I. p.5 f.)

case among other Formosan tribes, it was very difficult before the war to get youths to wear uniform or act as police assistants in spite of the considerable inducements offered them to enter government service."

39: Wiedfeldt--12-13 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 625, 723, 177.62 Atayal
636.62 Japanese

They succeeded over and over again in taking Japanese troups by surprise through their stratagems in battle, so that the Japanese army, which is admitted to be good, [13] proved to be of little use in these battles, and has been replaced by numerous policemen, who live there for long periods and are not so easily outwitted.

"At the close of 1934 there were 536 stations with 5,509 policemen, whose duty it is to maintain peace and order, to give industrial and agricultural training to the villagers, especially the young folks, and to provide medical care. The chief objectives of this work may be briefly summarized: an invigoration of the national spirit, diffusion of the national language, abolition of long-standing evil customs, cultivation of a love for labor, of thrift, and of settled farming. (3)

3. Kokusai Nippon Kyokai, A Record of Taiwan's Progress, Taihoku, p. 62.

This ambitious program to assimilate the aborigines of Formosa, 154,255 strong, is entrusted to a Bureau of Aborigines Affairs within the Police Affairs Section of the Government General. The work of the policeman among the Takasagozoku, as the primitives are called, is in many respects decidedly unique. This guardian of the law, to repeat, is teacher, counselor, financial and agricultural adviser, doctor, nurse, and religious leader all in one. To educate the savages in Japanese manners and ideals, to [15] destroy native customs, beliefs, and traditions, and to accelerate the process of ko-min-ka (i. e., change to Imperial people) are the policeman's main duties in each village. Notwithstanding certain difficulties which have arisen in the past because of unfortunate relations of some policemen with native women, high officials, report that the teacher-policemen, assigned to the special task of savage administration, seem to

have done creditable work.

In addition to schools, young men's associations are formed to stimulate an interest in the study of the Japanese language."

11: Haguenauer--30-31 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 871, 887, 177.65 Japanese
636.65

In spite of what other people may have said, the Japanese are treating the savages in a very kind fashion today. The civilizing work is proceeding methodically and patiently. Most of the savages who are over fifteen have not as yet understood the usefulness of the teaching, however, and only the little ones are beginning to become Japanese. The elders get bored, live an idle existence, and die of illness or alcohol. Their only delight is to borrow a gun from the police station occasionally, and to shoot three or four bullets at the wild boars or the deer. The bow and arrow are enough to kill birds. However, there are fortunately some exceptions, and the teachers have obtained some very brilliant results. I talked Japanese to some savages who had become thoroughly Japanese; they had diplomas from a normal school, and were working as assistants to directors of the posts or teachers. I repeat that the [31] Japanese are treating the natives in a very humanitarian manner. And this should be more successful than in other places, for here in these poor regions there is nothing to attract the large commercial companies, which are all too often the curse of colonies. The gentleness of the system may succeed in saving a part of the native population, possibly the Amis. The savages who will not be able to adapt themselves will probably disappear in the near future.

25: Plaut--32-33 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 647, 654, 721, 177.65 China
636.65

We should give particular attention to the viceroy's [EJ: i.e., the Chinese Viceroy Liu-Ming-Chuan, appointed in 1884] efforts to enclose the natives' territory. During the course of time the natives who lived in the western plain, the P'ing-pu-fan, Formosan Pe-po-huan "plain savages" and the Shou-fan, Formosan Sek-huan "ripe savages" or half-tamed ones, had been conquered or else they had retired into the inaccessible mountains of the eastern portion of the island, where the Sheng-fan, Formosan Tseng-huan, the most uncivilized tribes have lived in a state of complete independence for a long time. There was a continual battle between the settlers and the mountain savages; the settlers were eager to push their boundaries farther into the native domain, while the natives used every opportunity to attack isolated settlers or unprotected villages, and in this way they got their revenge and secured some more Chinese heads. Prior to the time of Liu-Ming-Chuan, the Governors had not followed any definite plan with regard to the savages, and in general they allowed the settlers to defend themselves as well as they could; the viceroy undertook to find a means of overcoming this handicap and he resolved to civilize the natives. For this purpose he established the "Training and Development Bureau", Fu-k'en-chu, (Japanese Bu-kon-kyoku). He had set himself the enormous task of educating the savages and of making the land arable.

To fulfill this plan, he established three principal bureaus in Ta-ku-kuan, Tung-shi-chiao and Pei-nan [33] and then had twelve branch offices, one in each of the Hsien

cities, I-lan, Yün-lin, Pu-li-she and Lien-hua-chiang, while the twelve others were in Su-ao, A-li, San-chiao-yung, Wu-chi-shan, Shuang-hsi, T'ien-wei, Hsien-ts'ai-weng, Ta-hu, Fang-liao, Nan-hu, Shui-chang-jung, and Hsiu-ku-luan. To attract settlers from the mainland, he set up settler recruiting bureaus in Amoi, Swatow and Hongkong.

The personnel of the bureaus consisted of 1 commisioner, 3 clerks, 5 policemen, 2 interpreters, 1 cook and 1 native maid. Then there was also 1 doctor and 1 barber. All of these employees were well paid: the commissioner, who was the superintendent of the branch office, received 30-80 taels a month, each clerk had 14-25, a policeman had 6-7, the first interpreter 20, the second 14-15, the maid 7, the cook 4-5 taels, and they all received free board. The interpreters had the hardest task, for they had to work with the savages and make them in favor of the Government's projects. The yearly expenditures of a branch office averaged about 6000 taels, and then in addition to that there was the food and equipment for the protecting troops. All of these expenses were defrayed by the revenue from the camphor monopoly.

As the savages are on a low cultural plane, it was necessary to be sparing with proofs of their good intentions, for it would have been an easy matter to have spoiled them. Accordingly interpreters went to them with gifts, and tried to persuade them to surrender; then at the same time the natives saw the protecting troops at frequent intervals, so any idea of insubordination was nipped in the bud. Those who showed their readiness

to collaborate were given rice, grain, meat, salt and vegetables; every month the barber paid them a visit, and at the end of the year they received clothing, oxen, and sows. Many of the natives entered the Chinese service as fire watchers and interpreters, in return for a monthly compensation, and then fathers sent their children to the school which was established for them in front of the south gate of T'ai-pei; there they received instruction in the dialect of the natives as well as in Classical Chinese.

As the viceroy realized that one of the chief means of civilizing wild peoples is to bring them into contact with educated people, he had the troops build an 80 kilometer road from Chang-hua diagonally across the mountain to Shui-wei on the east coast; the result was that many of the inhabitants of the interior and the eastern part of the island surrendered, they adopted the Manchu queue, and began to till the soil.

25: Plaut--33-34 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 436, 609, 656, 177.65 China
636.65

The stations of the Training and Development Bureau [EJ: established by the Chinese in 1884 to facilitate the acculturation of the Formosan natives] did not have a conspicuous success. Part of the blame may be laid on the changeable and distrusting nature of the savages, but the greed of the Chinese settlers and officials was the principal cause of the failure. For example, the natives were accustomed to bring their products into the settlements and to exchange them for wares which they [34] used for farming or for decoration. But the Chinese, who were only thinking about the momentary profit and not about the consequences, also sold them weapons. Finally the Government forbade any unrestricted trade with the savages, and it set up a market in each bureau, and said that it was the only place where barter should be permitted. However, the officials, who were entrusted to superintend this, were not reliable. They used their position for personal profit, and they permitted the natives to be cheated. It is not surprising, therefore, that this aroused the old ire among the savages, and that they used every opportunity to gain revenge by beheading some of the Chinese.

25: Plaut--34 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 654, 177.65 China
636.65

To be just to Liu-Ming-Chuan's attempts, we must remember that his civilizing activities only lasted for six years, [EJ: Liu-Ming-Chuan was Chinese Viceroy of Formosa from 1884 to 1891] and that is much too short a space of time to remedy some deep-rooted evils. It is true that he made the mistake of going too rapidly, and of trying to do too many things at once. Finally he was no longer able to pay the expenses for his undertakings, in spite of the increased taxes, and in 1891 he resigned his post. His successor was more economical, but he did not have time to accomplish very much, for the days of Chinese rule on Formosa were already numbered.

39: Wiedfeldt--16 [2] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 153, 811, 177.65 Atayal
636.65 Japanese

The capacity of the Atayals to grasp something that has been told them is also limited. If one attempts to tell them something through the medium of an interpreter, one runs up against a complete lack of comprehension, even if it is only a question of their forming a new concept out of elements already known to them. They do not even have an idea of the power of the Japanese, of which they should have been clearly conscious in view of the bloody battles that they have had with them. In order to make them aware of this, and to scare them off from making further attacks, the Japanese have very cleverly taken a number of highly respected Atayals to Tokyo every year at the expense of the state, so that they could get an idea there by what they themselves could see of the power and the resources of Japan, and could then tell the members of their tribe. The sum total of all this is that the Atayals do not completely lack imagination...but it has been employed only in a few fields, and has not been very productive even in these...

40: Kirk--12 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 712, 725, 563, 177.71 Japanese

"As one result of this aggressive policy, the Japanese have built a 'guard line' by cutting a wide path along the crest of mountains and thus surrounding the districts in which the 'wild men' dwell. Beyond this picket line near the districts most thickly populated with savage tribes, the jungle is cleared for a distance of one hundred to three hundred feet. This open space makes it possible to detect the approach of hostile bands and gives the Japanese soldiers a good firing range. Guardhouses of wood, bamboo, earth, or stone are built at strategic points with loopholes in the walls. These tiny fortifications are further protected by wooden barricades and entrenchments. Wire fences and entanglements, charged with electricity, have encircled some districts. Mines have sometimes been sunk, grenades have been thrown during a battle, and three-inch guns have been used with telling effect. One gun, carried up steep slopes and mounted at a commanding point, will hold back many savage warriors. (1)"

1. Report on the Control of the Aborigines, Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs, Taihoku, 1911.

4:Grajdanzev--36-37 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175, 721, 177.72 Japan
636.72

"The process of subjugation proved difficult because the terrain was mountainous and covered with tropical jungles. Many times the regular army detachments were sent into the territory of the savages and returned without achieving anything; they lost men in ambushes and from illness, and in some cases the imperial troops were actually defeated by the savages, who knew the terrain perfectly. It became clear to the authorities that the aborigines could not be conquered by a frontal assault, and so they began a constant siege. No weapon was left unused in the struggle. Barbed wire for hundreds of miles surrounded the savages and, in the regions of the most 'difficult' aborigines, electric current was used to make the barbed wire fatal. But the savages soon discovered ways of overcoming this difficulty. After the World War bombing from airplanes was used against them, but without apparent success. Their arms were confiscated, but by paying exorbitant prices they managed to buy new ones from Chinese smugglers. Hatred between tribes was exploited and Japanese policemen would return in company with triumphant tribesmen who were carrying the heads of defeated enemies. Nevertheless, this policy failed, (1) and the reason for its failure was simple; the [37] Japanese could not or

1. Owen Rutter, a British colonial administrator, who is opposed to the 'pampering of the native' and who is a partisan of 'justice and firmness' in dealings with

> the [37] natives, writes: 'I say that the Japanese have failed utterly, in their endeavors to solve the important question of bringing the natives under their influence.' Through Formosa, p. 233.

would not understand savages who were unwilling to give up their lands. Governor-General Sakuma, for example, starting his campaign in 1909 to make the savages a 'law-abiding people'—though they were quite law-abiding from their own point of view—compelled them to surrender their arms and had those who refused 'chastised'. "

4: Grajdanzev--37-38 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 659, 728, 177.72 Japan
636.72

"Twenty thousand men with primitive tribal organization and primitive weapons could not resist indefinitely the machinery of a modern state with all its attributes. But the submission was unwilling and as late as October 1930, aborigines, several thousand strong, burnt the police stations in the district of Musha, seized arms, and occupied the town. In order to suppress this rebellion the Japanese were compelled to use a considerable military force. (1) The suppression cost the Japanese

1. 'October 1930' is given by the Japan Year Book, 1939-40; in the 1933 edition it is said that the revolt took place 'in the summer of 1929.' Which is the truth we do not know, for the affair was not made public until long after it took place. Since 1929 a sum of ¥ 60,000 has been spent annually on special guards in Musha district.

160 lives and the incident shows that if the aborigines [38] should see a favorable opportunity, further trouble may follow. Now a force of 5,000 guards 90,000 aborigines, of which probably not more than 20,000 are mature men, disarmed and separated into their various tribal units by government lines."

6: Kirchhoff--31 [4] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 721, 177.72 China
636.72

At times the Chinese do not fear, even today, to use open force, if it is a matter of forcing the Pepo-huan off better soil. This was done with the natives inhabiting the north of the island, who are called Kabaran. They finally withdrew to the other side of the mountains, to the fruitful plain of Komalan (more popularly, Kapsulan), which stretches out on the eastern coast of North Formosa as far as Su-aô; there 4,000 of them are said to live in flourishing settlements and to extend even farther south along the coast as far as Hua-lien. Unfortunately they are constantly at odds with each other, so that there can be no question of a united opposition against the Chinese. Nor can they take flight into the neighboring mountains on the west; for there they would be met by the free Tsche-huan, who hate them as renegades.

6: Kirchhoff--31 [5] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 563, 177.72 China
636.72

The geographical distribution of Chinese, Pepo-huan and Tsche-huan is not so simple as often described: in the plain, the hilly country and the mountains, respectively. The only thing right about this is the fact that the free savages live alone in the mountains, protected by the forests. The Chinese push on step by step even into the mountains of the interior and fell the forests.

40: Kirk-- 12-13 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborogines
116, 726, 177.72 Japanese

"The repeated campaigns to subdue the savages by force of arms in the years following 1895 met with slight success. The Japanese soldiers knew so little about the geography of the country and were so poorly equipped to deal with the guerilla warfare of the savages that they not only were defeated again and again but were often forced to beat a disorderly retreat and leave their weapons behind to fall into the hands of the enemy. The Japanese had to [13] grope through creeping vines and underbrush because they did not know the trails, while the savages could run like deer and climb like monkeys.

The Japanese gradually learned through costly experience how to stretch out and defend the guard line successfully."

40: Kirk--17 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 788, 177.78

"The worship of the shrine in every household is a part of the larger program to transform 'wild savages' into good imperialistic Japanese."

21: Asai--6 [5] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 872, 882, 177.87 Japan
636.87

"After the Japanese came in, the children were sent to school for four years and learned Japanese. The Japanese put the Formosans on reservations and restricted the number of visitors and also restricted the movements of the Formosans. At present young men's clubs are strongest among the Tsou."